

BY RAOUL ROSENBERG

Disarm SDI With CTB

Have we lost?

We have an unprecedented nationwide infrastructure of grandmothers, doctors and others willing to burn out at a moment's notice, but our ideas are on no one's negotiating table, critical legislation is in no committee's hopper, our movement is on no front page. In short, we don't have our feet in the door. And into the public relations vacuum rushes Star Wars, crafted to knock the arms controllers off guard, confusing our arguments and weakening the resolve of our constituency.

Star Wars, Geneva talks fueling nuclear modernization, Reagan's new abolitionist rhetoric—these are the offspring of our efforts.

We mobilized public opinion with the fear of nuclear war and offered the freeze as our solution. But our solution has lost its momentum.

Helen Caldicott is going back to Australia this year. Schell is studying strategic defense. Forsberg talks of shifting our focus to non-intervention and ending violence as a means of settling international disputes. The strength of the Freeze Campaign, so vital to the movement, is undermined by its own brand of participatory democracy. Across the movement, chapters and local groups are despairing of direction. And funders are sick of supporting the movement's genetic diversity.

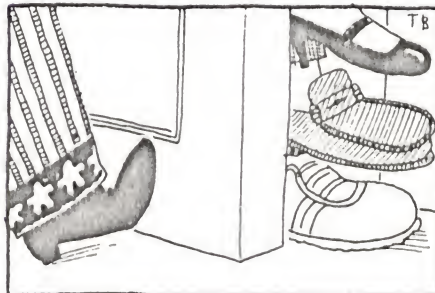
Have we lost our historic opportunity? Have we squandered away the first real awakening of antinuclear public opinion since the early 1960's?

It is only because we suffer from the impetuosity of our founding vision that some might mark us defeated. In the name of avoiding imminent apocalypse we have confused our ambitious goals with realizable, short-term tactics. To win our ultimate objectives we will have to overturn decades of multilaterally entrenched nuclear doctrine. To look into Department of Energy Military Applications Hearings or read the *Nuclear Weapons Databook* is to be overwhelmed by the enormity of what we face. We have barely begun to touch the problem. But we have not failed; we have just begun.

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LOST AND FOUND

Clearly we are at a stage in our evolution when we are seeking equilibrium between our identities as Washington pressure lobby and nationwide movement. Neither can be effective alone. Arms control without the force of



public opinion is weak and bankrupt. But a movement without a sophisticated Washington presence is lost in a naive vision of perfect democracy.

I just moved to Washington after three years of grass-roots work in New York state (most recently as head of the Downstate New York Freeze) to work on a campaign for a Comprehensive Test Ban with Physicians for Social Responsibility. After witnessing legislators justify their pro-MX votes as pro-arms control, I am nonetheless exhilarated by what I have found in Washington: a large, supportive, respected body of energetic activists—with access. The headlines don't reveal how powerful we have become.

We were defeated on the MX, but did astoundingly well under the most trying circumstances. The vote marked perhaps the beginning of the institutionalization of the grass-roots arms control movement. Congress and the press took healthy notice of our well-oiled machine, a machine that depends on the strength of the grass roots.

But, unfortunately, focusing on the MX is the easy part. It's a vulnerable missile, handed to us by Reagan's agenda. Are we too weak to set our own agenda?

We are faced with tough choices that hinge on our self-definition.

The antinuclear movement can retreat in the second Reagan term, expanding its definition to cover a broad left agenda, focusing on the "correct" but unwinnable fights, and guaranteeing our marginal-

ization as effectively as did the antinuclear movement and the British Labour Party after Thatcher's reelection.

Or we can hunker down for some serious long-term work to stop, bilaterally, the qualitative nuclear arms race. Otherwise Star Wars will surely fill the vacuum we leave.

STRIKE UP THE BAN

If we choose to hunker down we face a public relations hurdle. The public sees us opposing U.S. systems but understands little about how our measures can be bilateral.

Our short-term focus seems obvious—we must emphasize that the most verifiable, uncomplicated, bilateral measure that can be taken to halt the qualitative nuclear arms race is being actively suppressed by this Administration. If this Administration is really serious about ending the offensive arms race, it could easily move to end all nuclear explosions permanently, a measure that is verifiable down to the lowest levels of military utility. A Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) would curb both vertical and horizontal proliferation, and even the far right wants to keep thermonuclear weapons out of Qaddafi's hands.

Perhaps we have not finished laying the educational groundwork for an effective CTB strategy. We have created a virtual consensus that nuclear war is not winnable or survivable and that the nuclear arms race is indeed madness, but we have not yet convinced the American public that continued modernization and testing are part of that madness. It is a mistake to assume a movement can survive by Washington-focused lobbying alone. The Freeze Campaign, for example, was much stronger before it moved on from its media-effective policy of local and statewide referenda and town meetings.

Yet we are nothing without national legislation. Some argue that the only way to remain true to our original vision is to craft bills that are comprehensive and binding enough to halt the nuclear arms race in its tracks. Isn't this what the grass roots want? But if that legislation is incapable of moving in Congress, of getting even liberal bipartisan support, aren't we constructing yet another wall to bang our collective heads against?

Unfortunately, the new Comprehensive Freeze bill will not move, and the MX fight is not enough. But the CTB, which has been written into our treaties, espoused by every president since Eisenhower (except Reagan), and demanded by almost the entire world community, is a measure that can put our feet back in

* Perhaps: to defeat MX...
then...
(we can't beat R for Pres)

* Not more so than missile
test ban. If we can't get CTB,
why limit demand to this?

the door.

If we are serious about bringing the qualitative nuclear arms race to a halt, we must work with effective members of Congress from both parties to develop a workable strategy for building consensus, creating the sort of coalition that has worked daily and tirelessly on the MX.

Begin with a victory: non-binding legislation calling for the President to resume CTB negotiations. (It's called House Joint Resolution 3, sponsored by Representatives Berkley Bedell and Jim Leach. A similar measure passed in the Senate last year 77-22.) Use the victory as a springboard for binding legislation calling for a funding cutoff (or fencing of funds) for nuclear explosions, contingent upon parallel moves by the Soviet Union. Here we might suffer an initial defeat, but it will give us firm bilateral, comprehensive groundwork to come back at the problem again and again until we win.

And then we can move on with other comprehensive legislation, such as a ballistic missile flight-test moratorium or a fissile materials production cutoff.

Of course, none of our messages will be heard—all of this might be moot—unless we address the central issue of the day: Star Wars. Our work helped create the environment for Star Wars; our relative silence masks confusion and perhaps even a level of acquiescence. Only by facing the issue squarely can we expect to speak to the nation again and not just to ourselves.

We are in the business of creating political will. Already our impact has helped transform the unglamorous tasks of sloshing through the defense authorization budget or reforming interservice rivalry into issues politicians jump to claim leadership on.

From one perspective we have already failed. We have not stopped the arms race on earth, and the prospect of an arms race in space looms before us. From another, and perhaps more realistic perspective, we must realize that we have a very long struggle on our hands. Our infrastructure will not be dismantled by a second Reagan term, nor will we simply wait for the pendulum of history to swing back in our favor. We must stop castigating ourselves for not having stopped the nuclear arms race by lunch-time.

This movement is hungry for leadership. The leaders we have must work together to help fashion legislation, and a response to Star Wars, that will at the very minimum give us a foothold in the debate—that is the empowerment the grass roots need. I believe the CTB can do this.

The bombs have not gone off. Nuclear winter notwithstanding, it is still spring. We have some work to do. □

Notes From Abroad



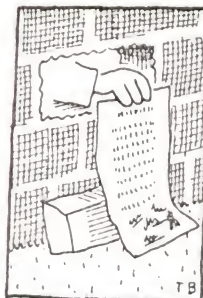
The independent Czech human rights group, Charter 77, which has been engaged for the last four years in a dialogue with Western peace activists, has produced an important discussion document about working for peace in Europe.

The "Prague Appeal" is formally addressed to the European Nuclear Disarmament convention which will be held in Amsterdam in July, and has been sent to independent groups in Hungary, East Germany and Poland as well as to Western movements. The signatories call for comments and responses to the document in the hope of establishing a common framework for discussion and action.

Charter 77 was founded eight years ago to press the Czech government to abide by its ratification of the United Nations' Covenant on Political and Civil Rights. The political opinions of its signatories (or members) vary widely, and it has deliberately avoided formulating a political program.

The Prague Appeal is the most explicit document on peace in Europe that the group has produced. Its starting point is the belief that the political tensions in Europe spring from the continent's division. Emphasizing the indivisibility of peace and human and democratic rights, it suggests that the movement work on a wide variety of initiatives for the creation of "a democratic and sovereign Europe," including nuclear free zones and regional treaties of all kinds. It calls on the movement to make "full use" of the requirement that governments obey international law. It takes up the "taboo" question of Germany, affirming the right of the Germans to decide whether to unite their two countries within their present frontiers. And it calls for negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons and U.S. and Soviet troops.

To Western activists, some of the language and proposals of the Prague Appeal may seem tentative or vague. But the document is designed to foster the maximum possible cooperation between groups working under very different conditions. The process of dialogue between people working for peace in the



East and West is as delicate as walking on eggshells. Members of independent groups in the East face serious harassment; in Czechoslovakia, signing a Charter 77 document can mean losing one's job, putting one's family at risk or going to jail. Many people who take such risks mistrust some Western activists' emphasis on the United States' role in the arms race over the Soviet Union's. Some Westerners, on the other hand, cannot accept what they see as the naive pro-Americanism of some Eastern groups, such as the Polish KOS. Charter 77's new initiative is a bold and potentially very important step toward a common political strategy.

• The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's (CND) longstanding suspicion that members' phones have been tapped and their mail opened was confirmed recently by a former officer of MI5, Britain's intelligence agency. Cathy Massiter revealed that the agency has opened files on thousands of CND members, infiltrated the Campaign's headquarters and passed on information to DS19, the special propaganda unit set up by Defense Minister Michael Heseltine to combat the peace movement. When Massiter complained that the work she was being asked to do contravened MI5's rules, she was sent to an agency psychiatrist and then forced to retire. Her story has led to a police investigation into MI5's domestic activities.

• In Norway, eight staff members of the peace magazine *Ikkevold* ("Nonviolence"), published by the Norwegian branch of War Resisters International, are on trial for reporting the location and function of an American military intelligence installation. The charges of violating laws on defense secrets could carry a sentence of 20 years in jail. The offending article described the Norwegian link in the United States' SOSUS (Sound Surveillance System) chain, and was based entirely on published sources and telephone interviews with personnel at military bases.

• The site for Britain's second cruise base (Greenham Common was number one), at Molesworth in Cambridgeshire, has been cleared of protesters and made ready for the army. A second peace camp outside the base survived. Eleven thousand protesters turned out there on April 8. Hundreds of peace groups from around the country have pledged to go to Molesworth regularly on certain days to maintain a permanent presence there.

• Eight members of the Belgian and European Parliaments were arrested on April 22 after breaking into the U.S. cruise base at Florennes in Belgium. Twelve others had been seized inside the base nine days earlier. —Maria Margaronis